

[Dr. P. Subbarayan]

[13th March 1928]

had any differences with me, it was for him to have informed His Excellency that he could not continue to serve with me as the Chief of the Ministry. Instead, he was, as the letter of the Leader of the Opposition shows, a party to the no-confidence motion against me. How any joint responsibility is compatible with this I cannot say. Besides, my hon. Friend the Diwan Bahadur, the Member for the Central Districts Christians, has always argued against any such joint responsibility. What is more, the very fact that the members of the Congress Party who always stood for joint responsibility, chose to put forward a motion of no-confidence in one Minister shows that even they were going against their professed opinions. The hon. Members will surely understand now it is not I who has thrown to the winds the idea of joint responsibility of the Ministers. That charge, Mr. President, must be laid at other doors." (Applause.) (Mr. S. Satyamurti: It seems an after-thought.)

VI

DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS FOR 1927-28.

Grant III.

- * The hon. Mr. A. Y. G. CAMPBELL :—" Sir, I beg to move
*'that the Government be granted an additional sum of Rs. 54,000 under
 "Grant III—Stamps—Reserved".'*

"This sum is required because, as hon. Members will no doubt remember, last year the Government of India introduced certain amendments to the Indian Stamp Act"

Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—" On a point of order, Sir. We have not known yet who the Law Member is, and this is now being moved by the hon. Mr. Campbell. I do not know whether he is in order in doing so."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member may take it that Mr. Campbell is the hon. the Law Member."

* The hon. Mr. A. Y. G. CAMPBELL :—" As I said, under the amendments introduced by the Finance Act of 1927 into the Indian Stamp Act no stamp duty is leviable on cheques drawn on or after 1st July 1927. On that date the Banks and other bodies in this Presidency had in their possession a large number of unused cheque forms which had been stamped. In accordance with the provisions of the law, the stamp duty levied on those cheques had to be refunded. It is to meet the cost of these refunds that this additional amount of Rs. 54,000 is required. I beg to move that this sum be granted."

The hon. Mr. T. E. Moir seconded the motion.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The question is that the Government be granted an additional sum of Rs. 54,000 under 'Grant III—Stamps—Reserved'."

* Sriman BISWANATH DAS Mahasaya :—" Sir, I stand to oppose the motion for the grant of Rs. 54,000. The reason is this: The Government have time after time given us promises to reduce the enhanced stamp duties levied since 1922. In 1927, on the budget discussions, the hon. Khan Bahadur Muhammad Usman Sahib Bahadur made the following statement"

13th March 1928]

The hon. Mr. T. E. MOIR :—" Cannot the hon. Member come and speak in one of these loud speakers, Sir? We cannot hear anything that he says."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" This is a supplemental grant for a special purpose. The hon. Member will not be in order to raise a general issue of the reduction of stamp duties on this. I think the House has already been acting on this principle. As regards the supplementary grants, the remarks must be pertinent to the purpose for which the demand is made."

* Sriman BISWANATH DAS Mahasayo :—" Sir, I bow to your ruling, but my point is that we must oppose the whole grant because nothing has been so far done. I propose that the whole grant be rejected."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I take it that the House is ready for a vote on the grant."

The motion was put to the House and carried and the grant made.

* The hon. Mr. A. Y. G. CAMPBELL :—" Sir, I beg to move
'that the Government be granted an additional sum of Rs. 5.51 lakhs under "Grant III—Stamps—Reserved."

"This sum is intended to meet the Provincial share of the cost of stamps under an arrangement made with the Government of India. Prior to the introduction of the Reforms, 'Stamps' was a divided head of revenue. The expenditure on the supply of stamps from England to the provinces was borne in the first instance by the Central Government, and as stamps were issued from the Provincial depots for the use of the provinces, their cost was debited to Provincial revenues by a corresponding credit to Central revenues. Under the Reforms, Stamps became an entirely Provincial head of revenue with effect from 1st April 1921; but the revised procedure for the adjustment of the cost of the stamps supplied to the Provincial Governments was not introduced till 1923. In that year the Government of India decided that all stamps supplied from England to the provinces should be paid for directly from Provincial funds. Then the question arose as to what should be done with regard to the value of the stamps which were in stock in the Provincial depots on 1st April 1921 and of the stamps supplied to the Provincial depots during the two years 1921-22 and 1922-23. These questions were discussed at a conference of financial representatives of the various provinces at Delhi in November 1925 and it was agreed that the stock of stamps on 1st April 1921 in all the Provincial depots and in the Central depot at Calcutta should be pooled and that one-half of the stock thus pooled should be credited to the Central Government and that the other half should be distributed between the Provincial Governments. In accordance with this arrangement this Government has to make a payment of 5.51 lakhs to the Government of India during the current financial year and it is to meet this charge that I move this resolution."

Mr. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—" Lest it should be understood that the House is in favour of this motion I formally oppose it."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I take it that the House is ready for a vote."

The motion was put and adopted and the grant made.

[13th March 1928]

* The hon. Mr. A. Y. G. CAMPBELL :—" I beg to move
*'that the Government be granted an additional sum of Rs. 1,300 under
 "Grant III—Stamps—Reserved—7 (b) (a) Stamps—Judicial—
 Charges for the sale of Stamps"—Discount on sale of copy stamp-
 papers.'*

"This sum is required to enable the Government to pay discount due to stamp vendors on the value of stamps sold by them. It is extremely difficult to say exactly how many copy stamp-papers will be required during the year for sale in the whole presidency. After considering the figures for the first nine months of the year it is anticipated that the amount sanctioned by this Council in the budget estimates will be exceeded by Rs. 1,300. I therefore beg to move that this additional sum be granted."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The question is that the Government be granted an additional sum of Rs. 1,300 under Grant III—Stamps—Reserved—7 (b) (a) Stamps—Judicial—Charges for the sale of Stamps."

"I take it that the House is ready for a vote."

The motion was put and adopted and the grant made.

Grant XI.

* The hon. Mr. T. E. MOIR :—"Mr. President, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I move

'that the Government be granted an additional appropriation of Rupees 64,400 for refund of lapsed deposits under Grant XI—General Administration—Miscellaneous—Reserved—XXXV. Miscellaneous—Deduct Refunds.'

"This motion relates to deposits which have under the existing rules been credited to Government. The existing rule is that all deposits left unclaimed for the last three years will be credited to Government. It is difficult to anticipate at the beginning of the financial year what the amount may come to. But on the basis of the accounts of the previous years claims for refund in the current year are likely to exceed by the amount of the additional supplementary grant for which I now ask."

* Rajkumar S. N. DORAI RAJA :—"Mr. President, Sir, may I be allowed in this connexion to request the hon. the Finance Member to be pleased to tell me why the amounts of private parties' deposits entrusted to the Civil, Revenue and Criminal Courts lapsed to Government and why no arrangements had been made to send registered notices to the parties concerned at their cost for receiving the amount if they exceeded in each case Rs. 100 and to send the amount to those concerned by postal money order if the amount did not exceed Rs. 100 in each item? Further the procedure adopted by Government in the Civil Account Code, Chapters XII and XIX is circumlocutous and costly throwing needless work and avoidable financial responsibility. Post and pre-payment audit in all district and mufassal sub-treasury offices costing on the whole Rs. 3 lakhs to our Government in the shape of maintenance of deposit transaction—forms, monthly returns, stationery and staff, etc.—can be put a stop to, as in the case of medical deposits in the Courts. These deposits may be invested in the Post Office Savings Bank or in the Post Office Cash Certificate system. I commend these suggestions to the favourable considerations of the Government."

13th March 1928]

* The hon. Mr. T. E. MOIR :—" Mr. President, as far as I am aware, refund is given in the Courts also and I shall be surprised to find it is not so. I shall however certainly go into the question ; I am sorry I cannot say anything further on that point."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I take it the House is ready for a vote."

The motion was put and adopted and the grant made.

Grant XV.

* The hon. Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—" Mr. President, Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor I move

" that the Government be granted an additional appropriation of Rs. 3,05,880 under " Grant XV. Police—Reserved " to meet the expenditure anticipated during 1927-28 in excess of the Budget provision."

" Hon. Members of this House will remember that during March last when the Police budget was before this House five lakhs were cut down. The Government tried to manage their expenditure with the amount sanctioned by this House. After eleven months' experience we find we have to meet an expenditure of Rs. 2,60,000. Further, Sir, due to the disturbances on 3rd February in connexion with the hartal and the threats of further hartals we had to provide for extra police and this caused an additional expenditure of about Rs. 42,000. I therefore move that the supplementary grant be made."

* Mr. A. KALESWARA RAO :—" I rise to move

" that a cut of Rs. 100 be made in the allotted sum of Rs. 3,05,880 for Police."

" I move this cut in order to censure the conduct of the Government in introducing the extra police into the City of Madras after the famous hartal. I submit the action was unwarranted. There was no necessity for bringing the police except to frighten the people and suppress all demonstrations of boycott of the Simon Commission, afterwards. Otherwise where was the necessity? Even the unfortunate disturbances that took place on the hartal day were due to the neglect on the part of the police to discharge their ordinary duties. With ordinary precautions these things could have been avoided very easily. What the police seem to have done in this case as has been seen on various similar occasions in other parts of the country, was to abstain from doing their duty and allow the rowdy elements to have their own way to provoke the masses and when the masses become restive or show signs of anger then they come with their force, terrorize every class and demoralize the situation. Thus the Government, in this case also, after those unfortunate incidents, have taken advantage of the foolish action of a few misguided people, abused the power vested in them by passing an order under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure which was intended. . . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Reference to this topic is not relevant."

* Mr. A. KALESWARA RAO :—" After this there has been a talk of disobedience of the order and further demonstrations of the boycott. But with the police at their command and with appropriate precautions all sorts of disturbances would have been very easily handled if any such thing takes place. The leaders of the Boycott Commission were for peace, the people were for peace. Even if a few disturbances took place the people felt they

[Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao]

[13th March 1928]

could manage things in a much more peaceful way. I submit there was no necessity for the extra police. What does the action of the Government—parading the streets with the police force, armed with guns and swords in motor buses both night and day—show except the fact that behind them there is the brute force? Really the Government ought to be neutral when an important Royal Commission comes to visit the country. It comes to find out the real feelings of the people, but the bureaucracy does everything to give a false colouring to the situation. Collectors have abused their influence in inducing the presidents of local boards, and chairmen of municipalities to get up a reception.”

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“The attitude of the Collectors will not be in order.”

* Mr. A. KALESWARA RAO :—“This bringing in of extra police into the City of Madras is part of the arrangement made by the Government through its servants and its officials to give a false colouring to show that the Government has a large following and that in spite of the resolutions of the great political associations like the Congress, Muslim League, Sikh League, Liberal League and Liberal Federation and the resolutions of the Council and the Assembly, the people are with the Government and they are ready to welcome the Commission and are willing to prolong the British autocracy for an indefinite time. I therefore move that the cut be accepted.”

12-30
p.m.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“The question is that the allotment of Rs. 3,05,880 under Grant XV Police—Reserved be reduced by Rs. 100.”

* Mr. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—“Mr. President, Sir, I rise to support the motion of my hon. Friend Mr. Kaleswara Rao, with a view to express the want of necessity for having drafted special police from Malabar for arrangements in connexion with the Simon Commission. If the Government of Madras and the City Police had taken ample precautionary measures to see that the rowdies were not abetted by their own underlings there would have been no necessity for drafting special police at a huge cost of Rs. 8,500. The recklessness with which the police handled the situation on the 22nd and 29th January on the beach in the Tilak Ghat, and the way in which they mismanaged the situation on the 3rd February near the Iron Bridge, in parts of Triplicane and Privatesvaranpet go to show perfectly clearly that the police officials concerned abdicated wholesale their function for two weeks. Mr. President, the police instead of having acknowledged their failure to take the situation in their hands did worse things. There was absolutely no justification for bringing extra police. The police that they had at their command were made, I say this deliberately, to stand quiet when people were being assaulted by rowdies. The rowdies, I have evidence to show, were egged on by responsible Government officials to do their misdeeds. These rowdies were molesting honest and peaceful citizens and the Government whose duty it was to protect their life and property were quietly looking on unconcerned. The British Government that is carried on in this country has got enough brute force behind it; why not that be brought into play to assure the safety and security of the peaceful citizens, nay, of the loyal and law-abiding citizens who are co-operators and, above all, of Government servants? When the Government servants were assaulted what did the police do especially in the southern division? I ask for an explanation from the hon. Member who has taken charge of this subject—perhaps he may not be

13th March 1928] [Mr. Basheer Ahmad Sayeed]

able to give one having taken charge of it only so recently—as to why the Government in the Police department failed so miserably to take any effective action on that day.

“There is also another ground on which we on this side of the House are opposed to this grant. The original demand in the last budget for police was reduced by five lakhs by a vote of this Council. Government say in their explanatory note that this cut was accepted by them and given effect to by reducing the provision under such and such heads. But is this the way to give effect to the vote of this Council?”

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“The hon. Member is aware that the motion now before the House is that of Mr. Kaleswara Rao and his object in making the motion is to discuss the necessity of the special police that was brought to Madras and the conduct of the police on the 3rd February. Any remarks beyond these two matters will not be pertinent to this motion.”

* MR. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—“Mr. President, I hope I will be given an opportunity later on to refer to this aspect of the question.”

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“If the hon. Member catches the eye of the President he will certainly have an opportunity.”

* MR. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—“The other point that I want to mention is that the special police is a huge waste of money and is a drain on the country's purse. The police, especially the Malabar Special Police, went round the city, even into narrow streets and was a source of great nuisance to the citizens who were carrying on their usual business.”

MR. A. KALESWARA RAO :—“With regard to the misconduct of the police I do not think I referred to that subject.”

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“If I remember aright, the hon. Member did refer to that question.”

* MR. BASHEER AHMAD SAYEED :—“The special police was the cause of a great nuisance to traffic; cars and carriages had to be stopped, and what about the accidents that occurred? It is for this that we are asked for a vote on the supplementary grant for Rs. 8,000. The special police was absolutely unnecessary and the ordinary police would have been sufficient if only they had done their duty. They did not do so; they lacked courage which they needed greatly. They lost their equilibrium and threw the city into confusion and disorder. They had no self-control and committed many atrocities which are being investigated and will be published by the committee appointed for the purpose by the Congress. We need not anticipate all that they have to say in the matter. It is only surprising that even after the lesson of the two previous instances was brought home to them as to what their duty was in a situation like that, the police did not take care to prevent such incidents, but simply abetted the various acts and misdeeds committed by the rowdies. The rowdies were allowed a free hand and even encouraged by the police by their acquiescence and indifference. Even a band of the military which was drafted for the purpose of restoring order, which was supposed to have been disturbed, while it was marching from the Fort to the Iron Bridge, would not take any notice when heaps of stones and shells and glass pieces were thrown on innocent and law-abiding citizens whom the Government is supposed to protect. The police atrociously failed to discharge their functions as custodians of law and order and the Government have

[Mr. Basheer Ahmad Sayeed] [13th March 1928]

equally failed to do their bit in securing safety of person and property even to their own supporters. In these circumstances it is quite unfair and unjust that we should make this grant."

* Dr. B. S. MALLAYYA :—" Mr. President, Sir, I support the motion of my hon. Friend Mr. Kaleswara Rao. Since he has not referred in detail to the mismanagement or rather the misconduct of the City Police during the disturbance of the 3rd, I shall make a few remarks and criticisms on that matter.

"The nucleus of the large crowd that gathered on the Esplanade had its origin in front of the toddy shop opposite the Kothwal Bazaar gate and it consisted of coolies, cartmen and rickshawalas. They marched down Anderson street inviting their friends there to join them, they now turned into Stringers' street and made Pearl & Sons, Furniture Makers, to close down. They next held a mild demonstration in front of Messrs Hoe & Co., which was soon closed. Here also the workmen joined them and they went next to another large printing office—the Ananda Press—which was also promptly closed. The workers of this Press too joined the crowd. The crowd thus swollen next turned into Broadway, and, finding the Harrisons open, called on the workmen there to come out and join them. The proprietor, it is said, was willing to close the shop, but before he could make up his mind, a tussle ensued between the crowd and the servants of the shop resulting in a miniature battle of bottles causing some damage to the glass panes. Policemen soon appeared on the scene and arrested a few from the crowd. This aggravated the feeling of the crowd who demanded the release of the arrested men, and to this the Policemen said that they would take down the names of the arrested men at the tanna and then let them go. The crowd agreed to this and followed them to the tanna, but they met with disappointment there. The news of the arrest soon spread throughout Sowcarpet and Mannady and large crowds gathered in front of the Law College Police station."

The hon. Mr. T. E. MOIR :—" May I ask the hon. Member whether he is giving first-hand information or second-hand information ? "

* Dr. B. S. MALLAYYA :—" Personal information, Sir. I may tell the hon. Member that I was there personally watching the whole situation and there was another hon. Member of this House also, the hon. Member from Salem, with me. I am giving my own version of it and also the public version. It is for the House to come to an independent judgment on this question of the police. The crowd had then become very large, and occupied the whole space between Miller's statue and the Esplanade Theatre. Though it was large, the crowd was quite peaceful except for a few stray cases of stone-throwing by urchins and would have dispersed if the arrested men had been released on bail. Trouble now started as the Police officers charged and recharged the crowd on foot as well as on chargers. The tragic incident of the whole affair took place at about 11 a.m. when a car in its attempt to go into the High Court compound ran over a police constable and also knocked down a few bystanders. The driver of the car at this incident got panic-stricken, deserted the car, and went inside the High Court. The bystanders, seeing the driver thus abandoning the injured and fleeing, shouted to him to come out and take injured persons to the hospital. In the meantime, it is said that some one of the little fellows dropped a lighted beedi into the petrol tank which naturally caught fire. To see the tamasha of a burning car some of

13th March 1928]

[Dr. B. S. Mallayya]

the crowd got into the High Court compound and in the High Court itself there was a regular commotion. But the situation was promptly brought under control by two of the hon. Judges coming out and asking the sight-seers to clear out of the compound. The crowd implicitly obeyed the Judges. They had no regulation lathies or firearms and yet their orders were promptly obeyed, while, on the other hand, the police were constantly charging the crowd and using their authority in an aggressive manner, causing resentment in the crowd. That huge crowd of about 10,000 was perfectly unarmed. They had no sticks, they had no crude swords of the Puliyanthope fame or brickbats in their possession. Little urchins nearly naked were only having a fling at the Police sergeants and officers whenever the latter charged on them. One of the stones unfortunately seems to have hit the Assistant Commissioner on the chin. If this officer had not put on a big white court plaster cross on his cheek and made himself prominent with this pin-point wound, and roused the feelings of his own men, much trouble could have been avoided. But one never thought that this plastering of the cheek would provide work for photographers and the dailies, and cause a sensation all over the Presidency.

“My own impression is that if this officer had left the scene or, better still, put on a white cap on the top of this plastering, he would have commanded implicit obedience from the crowd and it would have even applauded him. The Commissioner of Police, the Presidency Magistrate and other officials who arrived later on were moving among the crowd freely, particularly the Presidency Magistrate. He commanded more respect and obedience than any other official present there. It is regrettable that this officer should have given the order for firing on this unarmed and peaceful crowd. The Presidency Magistrate seems to have resisted the demand for the order to shoot for a long time, but he had to yield to the persuasion of the Commissioner of Police. Four rounds of buckshot and six rounds of ball cartridges are said to have been used and the casualties are one killed and eight or nine injured. Considering the quantity of ammunition used and the density of the crowd, the killed and injured may be said to be very few and the public are extremely grateful to the twelve reserve police constables who formed the firing squad. They must have detested this butcher's work and used all their skill in avoiding the crowd at this point-blank range. If anybody is to be promoted and commended for good work in this regrettable crisis, it is the constables of this firing squad. It is a pity that the Press photographers missed them. The object of this firing was dispersion of the crowd, but it failed miserably. The dead body of the poor victim who died that day—a member of the depressed class whose welfare is the one grave concern to Lord Birkenhead—was placed on the tram line by the crowd which then invited the police to fire more rounds of ball cartridges at them

12-45
p.m.

“Sir, by this time the police authorities realized their mistake and helplessness and promptly called in the military from the Fort and coolly withdrew from the scene of action. After this there was no stone-throwing or rioting. The mob was not armed. Neither had it any tendency to incendiarism. The fire in the Press room of the High Court is stated to be the smouldering of a bit of paper set on fire by the remnant of a burning cigarette. If the crowd had been so inclined, they could have easily set on fire the two or three petrol tanks and pumps situated near by in an exposed condition. This shows that

[Dr. B. S. Mallayya]

[13th March 1928]

they were not incendiaries. The only charge against the crowd was that they were throwing stones on the police. But they did not take to stone-throwing in a body. Had they done so all the police officers would have been buried under a heap higher than the Miller statue. Stoning according to the statement of the Commissioner himself was done by urchins. They wanted the crowd to disperse and according to them the quickest way of doing it was by resorting to firearms. Evidently the police thought that the crowd was made up of crows to fly off at the sound of firearm or ducks to disperse at the sight of blood. But they proved to be men prepared to meet death or any injury at the hands of the police. The shooting under the circumstances was a blunder. It did not disperse the crowd. It only elevated the souls of two depressed-class persons Parthasarathi and Subban to heaven and they will wait there for the judgment day to give evidence against the police. There will be a Coroner there and the police will not have a chance of investigating their crime and finding a verdict of death caused by shooting in the legitimate discharge of their own duty.

"The formation of large crowds on the Esplanade and their defiance of the police orders, a car running over a constable, knocking down some bystanders and its subsequent burning, stoning of the police, mounted charges on the crowd and the regrettable shooting on the unarmed crowd by the police, the indiscriminate stoning of the cars and other ugly incidents could have been easily avoided by the police if they had any commonsense in them. The whole affair had its origin in the arrest of a few persons in front of Messrs. Harrison & Co., and those were arrested by reserve police from the Muttialpet division. If these men under arrest were taken to the Mannady police station there would have been no crowd at all on the Esplanade. The police knew that Esplanade was the storm-centre full of inflammable material. There were students from the Law College, the Christian College, Pachaiyappa's College and the Govindappa Naick School; also coolies, cartmen and basket-makers without any work that day. It looked throughout this regrettable episode that the police were out to vindicate their authority and not to prevent disturbances. When the officers arrived in a fire-engine and saw the motor-car burning in the High Court compound, it did not strike them to send for more fire-engines to put out the fire, but their minds seemed to be concentrated on opening fire on the unarmed crowd. If dispersion of the crowd without any injury to anybody was their object, they could have easily done it by opening half a dozen fire hoses on the crowd as is usually done in America and other countries during similar circumstances. Cool judgment and commonsense seems to have given place to panic. After 8 p.m. when everything was quiet the police in that locality who were till then posing themselves as custodians of law and order assumed the rôle of cowardly budmashes to injure and waylay peaceful and respectable citizens going to their homes for their avocations. Are you a Congressman; do you want Swaraj; have it now, and down came the lathi on the back. This was the secret motive of all their actions that day.

"After mismanaging everything, more police are drafted into the City and made to parade the streets, going into lanes and by-lanes; where other buses were not allowed, the buses carrying the police were allowed to go into these lanes with their guns exhibited prominently; one of the buses knocked down a poor man by name Madar Singh on the road; and he was sent quietly to the next world. Unfortunately he belongs to the depressed classes for whom

13th March 1928]

[Dr. B. S. Mallayya]

the Government are very anxious to do something. I would put the question to the hon. the Law Member, what he has done for the family of the poor unfortunate victims of police zoolum? You have killed their earning members; what have you done for their dependents? Have you made any provision for their dependents or are you going to send them to Andamans for voluntary colonization? Is that the work of the police? Is such a thing to continue here and if so, for how long? They want money; they want our lives too. I hope the whole House will join us and vote for the cut."

* Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR:—"Sir, I do not like to give a silent vote on this motion. I shall explain my position with regard to the vote that I and many of my friends on my side of the House are going to give. One of the primary duties of the Government is to protect law-abiding citizens. When hartal was declared on the 3rd February I have no doubt that the organizers of the hartal had no intention whatever of hurting anybody; they wanted to confine their energies to hartal and not to disturbances. As some of us know, declaration of hartal leads to certain natural and probable consequences and these natural and probable consequences actually took place. When a hartal is declared on occasions like the last one rowdies naturally come out and that is the proper time for them to exercise their energies. People in Madras and in the Presidency were not surprised when these rowdies were very much in evidence on the 3rd February. It is admitted—there is no dispute—that persons who were opposed to the hartal, the rowdies, and the people who were in favour of hartal were mischievous in their activities. I am told—I was not here at that time—that in Triplicane and in some other places innocent people and particularly Brahmans were hurt very much by rowdies. They went about the streets on the night of the 3rd crying "Bomman Marko" which I am told means "beat the Brahmans" and they went about the streets hurting innocent people, particularly Brahmans. This is the natural and probable consequence of the declaration of the hartal on the 3rd February. I believe the Government are seriously to blame with reference to their non-action on the occasion. As a matter of fact, if the Government had taken proper precautions to prevent mischief and to prevent hurt, the damages that were caused to certain people and even the deaths that took place would have been prevented. So, the Government, in my opinion, is certainly to blame for the non-action and want of care and attention on their part. But how can the Government be blamed for profiting by their experience and by their mistakes? They learnt by their mistakes and by their experience on the 3rd February that they committed a blunder and to rectify this blunder they took adequate precautions to prevent a similar occurrence. It was for that purpose that this additional police from Malabar was brought to this City. 1 p.m.

"I submit that one of the fundamental and primary duties of the Government is to preserve law and order. I state that Government would have been seriously to blame if they had not taken this additional precaution of bringing down the police to this City to prevent a similar occurrence. As I was listening to the speeches that have already been made on this motion, and the many statements which the speakers were making with reference to the people who were hurt, I thought that the speakers were arguing against their own motion. Sir, I see no reason whatever to vote against this grant and I have the pleasure to give my vote against this motion."

[13th March 1928]

* Mr. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—" Mr. President, Sir. The speech of my hon. Friend Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar was rather perplexing to me. It seemed as if he was giving his entire and whole-hearted support to clause (2) of the amendment which runs as follows :

'To discuss the misconduct of the Madras City Police in abetting the rowdies in molesting, injuring and preventing peaceful citizens from attending the Simon boycott meeting at the beach on 3rd February 1928.'

"In the course of a fervid and impassioned speech, he made his position quite clear by saying that the police did not rise equal to the situation and that they exhibited their incompetency to manage or handle the situation that was created on that day. Sir, nobody could think of the happenings of 3rd February without a sense of resentment and indignation. The whole of the speech of my hon. Friend—which was by the way a left-handed compliment to the police—breathed a spirit of condemnation at the action of the police. He used the terms 'Inaction' and 'non-action.' The effect of his speech was a direct condemnation of the action or non-action of the police who had been unable to manage the situation that was created on that day. It looked as if disorder reigned supreme and was allowed to have its full sway. The reports of the happenings of the 3rd that appeared in the papers, the materials that have been collected since and the report of the Police Commissioner, all these make it perfectly clear that the police instead of handling the situation were winking at, and egging on or otherwise assisting, some of these rowdies. So far as disorder was concerned, it is common ground, and every right-thinking man will agree, that the disorder was brought about not by the peaceful boycotters but by the rowdy anti-boycotters assisted by the police. It is abundantly clear from the various reports, and it has been partly admitted by the Police Commissioner in his report, that the police were winking at or permitting unconcerned the way in which peaceful citizens were handled. Are they paid for that? Are not they there for maintaining peace and order? Instead of discharging their duty, to their eternal shame and discredit, we have had the spectacle of these men standing there without rendering any help to the unfortunate victims. It was here that the police deserved the strongest condemnation.

"Now, with regard to the bringing in of this additional police to Madras, I was here on the 26th and the following days and it brought to my mind the memory of a *zootam*; it appeared as if the whole City was in a state of siege, that the whole of the City of Madras was practically under the military zone; a state of things hardly satisfactory to the people and hardly creditable to the Government. Instead of spending this money on the drafting of this extra police, Government would have been well-advised in spending one or two hundred rupees with a view to find out these rowdies and take steps to paralyse their activities. On the 27th I saw policemen patrolling the streets in armoured cars, and a posse of policemen patrolling the streets with arms and rifles, as if Madras was waging war against the Government, and this kind of consternation was necessary to coerce people into submission. This was hardly a desirable state of things. I regard it as an insult to the House and to the fair name of the City. We cannot take the insult lying down. No word will be too strong to condemn the action of the Madras Government in this matter. I support the motion."

* Mr. C. S. GOVINDARAJA MUDALIYAR :—" Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my Friend Mr. Kaleswara Rao. The facts of the case have

13th March 1928] [Mr. C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliyar]

been put forward to a great extent by the previous speakers. The conduct of the police on that day in abdicating their functions is a matter for serious condemnation. Anybody who had been about the place of occurrence of these incidents on that day would have seen how the police were not only guilty of abetting, but they were cool and unenergetic. My hon. Friend the Finance Member put the question whether my friend Dr. Mallayya was speaking from hearsay knowledge or whether he was speaking from first-hand knowledge. I saw a posse of these policemen stand near the Round Tanna, and what do you think was witnessed there? The police were coolly aiding the rowdies in wrecking the procession of Congressmen. A car was molested by the rowdies. All the time the policemen who were on the spot did nothing to prevent the rowdies from molesting the passers-by. It is for these policemen that support is sought now.

"Coming now to the importation of this force from Malabar, the country of my colleague Mr. Krishnan Navar, these gangs were posted everywhere, especially about the precincts of the High Court. I ask now"

The hon. Mr. T. E. MOIR:—"Before saying that the police abdicated their powers, will my hon. Friend tell us if he made a report of the incidents which occurred on that day to the police officers.?"

* Mr. C. S. GOVINDARAJA MUDALIYAR:—"My answer, Sir, is this. There was not only abdication of the powers by the Government in the Police department but there was abdication of the Government in other departments including the Magisterial."

The hon. Mr. T. E. MOIR:—"Sir, with reference to my question, I do not know which he means, yes or no."

* Mr. C. S. GOVINDARAJA MUDALIYAR:—"Mr. President, Sir, unless you take away that interdiction on any mention of section 144, I will not be in a position to effectively answer him."

"Now, Sir, with regard to the drafting of this extra police from the mufassal and charging the public revenues for their travelling expenses, it is one of those acts of indiscretion, one of those acts which deserve condemnation from every right-thinking man. The necessity for this has not been made out, except the bald statement that these were necessitated by the events that took place on the 3rd February and the hartals that were declared. Was any public enquiry instituted? It is no use saying that the action of the Congressmen brought about these disturbances and apportioning the blame to them. There have been demands made upon the Government to institute an enquiry. Is it because that they fear that the result of the enquiry would be that they would be found in the wrong, that they fear an open enquiry?"

"Sir, the activities of the specially imported police have been witnessed with scorn and disgust by the peaceful citizens of Madras. They were an eyesore to every one who saw them. The Malabar police were stationed with muskets and bayonets at the entrance to the High Court and they blocked the entry of people into the Court. Such was the terror during the Simon Commission's visit that the police locked up one of the gates of the High Court. Was such undue alarm and panic necessary? The less said about it the better. These demonstrations were organized to cow down people; to prevent them from giving vent to their feelings of resentment at the manner in which the visitation of the Commission was thrust on them."

[Mr. C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliyar] [13th March 1928]

1-15
p.m.

It is only a pretence to say that they were necessary to keep the peace. It is only a pretence to say that they were there to prevent future possible disturbances on a future possible hartal. They were to be found on the wake of the Simon Commission. They were here, there and every where, where the Commission went. It is purely for engineering the so-called demonstration in favour of the Simon Commission and to prevent any popular demonstration against them. It is for this purpose that the whole of the armed police had been brought in. It is a pretence to say that hartal was the objective for which the police had been brought in. There has not been shown a single instance as to how the police were able to do anything during the week or so of their stay in the City of Madras. I therefore appeal to all sections of the House to show their condemnation of the action of the Treasury Bench in having done this most unnecessary and offensive thing in bringing this extra police into the City of Madras."

* Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—" Mr. President, Sir, the police have only to shoot and all justifications have to be established by the Government. That is the law of the Indian bureaucracy and the demand made of this House is in proof of that law. We are asked to vote for the posse of police marching through the streets in the City of Madras. For what reason? For keeping the peace of the City of Madras? We see no necessity for spending money upon this band of policemen. What did they achieve for the people in the City of Madras? These are questions that should have been considered very carefully before a demand of this kind is brought before us. I was here on those days when these estimable gentlemen with long batons and muskets and drawn bayonets were enjoying the holiday in the streets of Madras which were absolutely deserted at the sight of these great friends. I know how little the British Government looked in the eyes of the people at the time and how they felt that the British Government was so bereft of commonsense that they wanted the protection of the special police for the Simon Commission which the whole country boycotted. I know also, Sir, that this special police which went round the streets had no duties to perform at all except going round in impressed buses. Madras is a big city and Madras has a great deal of reserve physical force at the command of the Government. There is the military within the Fort St. George and as a matter of fact the military has been utilized now and then to keep the peace in this place and there are further forces at the command of the Government. Yet here is a surcharge made upon the revenues of this country, merely to penalise the people, merely to cow them down and merely to tell them that they are a subject race. Take the report of the Police Commissioner. What does it say? It does not say that there was anything very very serious on the 3rd, that there was anything which required all these precautions on the side of the Government. He makes out a case for the action that the police took in the ordinary course of business and he says that but for the indiscretion of Mr. Moresby and the indiscretion of the employees of Harrison Company nothing serious would have happened. And fancy the place where the firing took place. It took place not before Harrison's where the disturbance took place, it took place not at the High Court where Mr. Moresby was indiscreet but it took place elsewhere. Under what circumstances? At the defiant attitude of the multitude. I have known what is a 'defiant attitude.' By the courtesy of the Government I was in jail. I know the convict's defiance. The prisoner has merely to look at the warder in protest of the teasing he is subject to and he is beaten blue

13th March 1928] [Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao]

almost to death. That is the defiance that the subject race is guilty of towards the British Government. The British Government cannot tolerate this defiance. They cannot tolerate the attitude of the people in trying to carry on hartal to a complete success. The British Government must perforce take advantage of some small trouble here and some small trouble there and teach the nation a lesson. But for that attitude of the British nation, I am sure this force is an absolute superfluity in the City of Madras. Government cannot plead that it could not command at any time sufficient physical force to keep peace in Madras. They cannot plead that they have not arms in Madras. They cannot plead that they have not enough of policemen. I remember the day of boycott when the Duke of Connaught arrived. There was no need for special police then though there was some small violence. There was boycotting then. I was there at the time. The one argument that does not appeal to me is this. With the force that they had in the city why should the special police from Malabar have been drafted and should have been made to parade in the streets at a time when the whole machinery that had declared hartal had called it off? Why should they persist in going with this force round the city? Why should they come to us for this wonderful grant? I am unable to understand any reason except this, that the British Government in India, the bureaucratic part of it especially, is unwilling to stand the slightest protest from the people of this country and is willing to wound the popular feeling whenever an opportunity occurs. Except on that basis of political policy I do not think there is any reason for this grant. I do not know how my friends on the Treasury Bench will be able to substantiate the demand (A Voice: They have got votes). I know they have got votes and they can create votes by offering and promising the Law Member's place. Unless the Government have more responsibility in themselves, unless they are prepared to behave better towards the people of India as they would behave towards their own people in their own country, unless they are prepared to come down and say 'here we are your bretheren, working what we call the reform scheme, trying to help you to achieve self-government and therefore we shall be amenable to every sort of humane influence,' until they come to that attitude of mind it is our bounden duty, on this side of the House, to tell them very plainly that they shall not have grants of this nature and that they would not be permitted to shoot down our people for very insufficient grounds and then put upon us very heavy economic burdens. One of the hon. Members of this House referred very sympathetically to Brahmans and others who were molested on a particular day. Of course molestations of Brahmans and others have become the rule under the British Government because the British Government is willing to play to the police raj. They are prepared to support the police. It is in their favour that the demand is made. Therefore the police may look over the molestation of anybody but they cannot look on the molestation of their own men. The Deputy Commissioner of Police managed the matter all right under admittedly difficult circumstances. The advent of the Commissioner introduced the defiance. I do not know why the same set of men who were managing the things so well in circumstances of pressure, under circumstances admittedly troublesome should have failed to manage the situation when there was no such difficult circumstance. Why should they fire then is not clear to me. To suggest that special police was required in Madras where there was sufficient physical power at the command of the Government and to ask for grants for the same does not stand to reason at all. I can see only one reason and that

[Mr. G. Harisarovtama Rao]

[13th March 1928]

is the prestige of the Government. I therefore appeal through you, Sir, to the Members of this House that this demand be thrown out."

* **Rajakumar S. N. DORAI RAJA** :—" Sir, I congratulate some of the hon. Members of this Council for creating an opportunity of letting their pent-up gas bottled up for such a long time. (Voices: Hear, hear. and 'What is yours?') I am a nominated member. (A voice: His case will be prepared by Government for him.) I am a member nominated by the Government no doubt and I am proud of it. I have got only my country and my conscience to think about. (A voice: Of the Government.) These gentlemen sat there like whipped dogs when the no-confidence motion was brought in the Council. They swallow their conscience whenever necessary and can even explain it away and change their political lines as often as a chameleon and they naturally indulge now in the common talk given to all condemned men at the sight of the scaffold. They are used to calling the tune and ask the other people to pay the piper. Their policy is, 'what do we care; we are here to incite the people.' (A voice: And you are there to act as a page boy.) That is their attitude. At the same time they come and say, 'the police have proved themselves agents provocateurs.' (A voice: Undoubtedly.) Knowing as they do they are the agents provocateurs themselves, they remained in their houses for fear of being harmed by the very people whom they incited to do harm and they are now the judges of what happened outside. Can dishonesty and cowardice go further? One thing is certain. Knowing as they do the Swarajist credentials and what they are apt to do, the Government should have stopped this haral and prevented the innocent lives being lost. (A voice: Take the Law Member's place and do it.) I do not sell my convictions as they usually do. (A voice: You have none to sell.) Therefore, Sir, for these reasons I oppose the amendment." (Voices: 'Thank you very much.')

After Lunch (2-30 p.m.).

* The hon. the **PRESIDENT** :—" The Council will now resume the debate on the amendment of Mr. Kaleswara Rao."

* **Mr. C. RAMASOMAJULU** :—" Sir, in regard to this cut motion, I wish to point out one or two inferences that naturally follow from the discussion which has taken place now. Mr. Krishnan Nayar who opposed this cut motion inferentially has argued for voting in favour of the cut motion. I am prepared to show to the House from Mr. Krishnan Nayar's own arguments that it is incumbent on us to vote in favour of the motion. Mr. Krishnan Nayar argues that it is no doubt true that the police are guilty of non-action or inaction, inefficiency or incapacity, whatever it is, on that day, and he further says that in order to prevent such untoward incidents they want additional police. My simple observation is this. Mr. Krishnan Nayar, while admitting that the police were guilty of laches on that day, how can he naturally argue that there is any necessity for additional police? If Mr. Krishnan Nayar stated that the police were active and in spite of that they were not able to prevent any of the things that had taken place and therefore the additional police was necessary, I can understand his argument. But while admitting that the police were non-active or inactive, how can he establish a case for calling in additional police? I understand that Mr. Krishnan Nayar wants the members of his party to vote with him. I do not think that any person with a sense

13th March 1928]

[Mr. C. Ramasomayaajulu]

for logic will vote with Mr. Krishnan Nayar because he has given away his point for the additional police when he admits that the police were guilty of non-action. I know the Government is likely to call to aid the nominated members and the officials but I hope none of the elected members will vote with the Government in this matter."

* Mr. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTI :—" Mr. President, Sir, I rise to speak on the amendment of my hon. Friend, Mr. Kaleswara Rao, expressing dissatisfaction of the House on the manner in which the Government has conducted itself in connection with the Simon Commission. I am very much surprised, Sir, that the responsibility for moving this demand has fallen upon my hon. Friend, Mr. Usman Sahib. That is perhaps the reason why my hon. Friend over there representing Malabar has been very tender in his remarks towards the hon. the Home Member. (Hear, hear.) Otherwise I should have expected very reasonably his support also in this motion.

"I do not propose to discuss what has happened on the day of the hartal or the manner in which the police have acted during that day. Whatever might be the opinion of the conduct of the police during the forenoon, in the evening when they were unable to prevent people from throwing stones near the Napier Bridge, there could be no two opinions on the inefficiency and ineptitude of the police. But what I am concerned with now is the panic which has seized the Government and the steps which they have taken to prevent what they thought a very serious situation that might develop on the next hartal day. I do not think what they have done and the measures they have taken can be said to be complimentary to any Government which pride itself in having preserved law and order in the country. They have shown as a matter of fact the white feather in dealing with the situation. (Opposition : 'Hear, hear.') Taking the police reports to be quite accurate and true, what is it that has actually happened on the 3rd February to justify the practical proclamation of the martial law in the city on the 26th February? As has been very graphically described, a few urchins took part in pelting with stones those whom they thought acted contrary to the exhortation to preserve hartal. It is quite plain that so far as those who were responsible for advocating the observance of hartal were concerned they admittedly preached for a peaceful and non-violent hartal. When the co-operation of the Chairman of the Simon Commission Boycott Committee was sought for by the Commissioner of Police, he readily acceded and also complied with the request of the Police Commissioner not to send out his volunteers through the city lest there might be some clash and breaches of peace, though my hon. Friend, Mr. Satyamurti, was found fault with for having acceded to this request of the Police Commissioner. To the extent that he had co-operated with the Commissioner of Police and with the Government in trying to see that there should be no breaches of the peace, it is a matter for which the Government ought to feel thankful to us. Excepting my hon. Friend, Mr. Dorai Raja, who has distinguished himself by a very tragic speech just before lunch, I do not think even Government was so hard upon us as to throw the blame on us of having incited any violence on the day of the hartal. It was left to those ultra-loyalists to parade their loyalty by attacks against the Congress party. I know there are several people who think it a pleasant pastime, a pastime which should please their patrons, to attack the Congress party; but I do not think the Government is so completely bankrupt of shrewdness and foresight as not to really find out the intentions of these ultra-loyalists. (Hear, hear.)

[Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti] [13th March 1928]

Sir, from what has been graphically described by Dr. Mallayya, only a few urchins took part in the disturbance. Had it not been for the unfortunate burning of the motor-car at the High Court buildings, the reason for which may be variously alleged by various persons, I do not think even the Europeans at whose instance the Government seemed to have acted in this precipitate manner (hear, hear) could have cared to take this matter seriously. Sir, Europeans are particularly accustomed to this kind of interference by advocates of particular causes in their own country. As a matter of fact, if you are witnessing some such disturbances as pelting with stones or throwing of eggs or burning of effigies, they were only copying what were actually being done even to-day in England and other western countries. They are sportsmen enough to understand that these are only ebullitions of the moment and will cool down the moment the root cause of the ebullition is removed. But in a subject country like India, where they want to show their might and where they feel that their lives are threatened, they themselves assist to feed the panic and egg the Government to take strong measures. I should be sorry for the European gentlemen here if they should feel that their living is possible here on account of the Government protection and support. That is not a matter of fact. They are living here safe more as governed than as rulers. I would like the Europeans to put themselves in the position of Indians and treat this question from that point of view. On that day, Europeans were not particularly marked out for this kind of treatment. Be he a European, be he a Brahman, be he a non-Brahman, he was similarly treated. There is no reason for particularly mentioning that Europeans were attacked on that day. It was all the work of the rowdies and rowdies have no politics to distinguish between Europeans and Indians. Everybody who transgressed the exhortation made by the leaders of the Congress party to observe peaceful hartal were announced as transgressors. Whether those who really pelted stones were the friends of the Congress or not could be demonstrated clearly by the fact that persons proceeding towards the beach meeting were pelted with stones; and the Government are aware that the whole thing was due not to any political partisans but to the riff-raff of the city. To counteract this small incident that the Government should have imported a large contingent of Malabar police force into the city and have taken the trouble of parading them in armoured cars through the peaceful streets of the city is certainly demonstrative of the bankruptcy of Government in dealing with situations of this sort. Is it complimentary to the very gentlemen of the Commission to think that they are in the city being protected by armoured cars and Malabar police force? Certainly not. They must have been shrewd enough to find out that they are being taken round the city in an artificial atmosphere and not in a congenial atmosphere.

"I do not propose to discuss about the gagging order as you, Sir, have ruled that I may take another opportunity of referring to it. But I cannot help remarking that the parading of the armoured cars and the armed police being put into the buses and taken through street after street immediately following the gagging order had a very demoralizing effect upon the people of the city in regard to their regard for the Government.

"The man in the street is able to find out that the Government aim at ruling the people of this country is not by love, not by affection, not by their proper governance of the country, but by bayonets and armoured cars and

13th March 1928]

[Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti]

that nothing else is necessary than to show physical force with which we are ruled. As a matter of fact their panicky measures have greatly helped the case of those who want to replace this Government by another form of Government. Apart from this, Sir, Mr. President, I should like to remind this House that the demand is a proposition to circumvent the resolution of the Council during the budget discussions. The House is well aware of the fact that during the budget last year it cut down a sum of 5 lakhs from the Police budget. If His Excellency the Governor found it convenient that this amount was necessary for carrying on the administration he should have used his powers of certification. Apparently he also agreed with the Council in thinking that 5 lakhs might be easily met from the demand and therefore he did not care. Now it has fallen on my hon. Friend, Mr. Usman, to come and ask in the shape of a supplementary grant. Really what these Government Members are actually doing is they wait for an opportunity when the Council is either tired or is engaged in some other consideration and then just wedge in these things and ask for the vote of the House. But for the fact that this incident is closely associated with the demand probably the House would not have been aware and would not have remembered what it had done during last year. If we should have any regard for the power of the Council in not sanctioning the very sum which we cut down some time ago and if we think that the Council's resolution should be respectfully given effect to also by the Members of the Executive Council, we can do nothing else than to reject this demand *in toto*. I therefore while opposing the demand support the amendment of my hon. Friend, Mr. Kaleswara Rao."

* Mr. P. BHAKTAVATSALU NAYUDU :—" Mr. President, Sir, I had no intention to speak on this motion as it has been very ably and clearly supported by the previous speakers my hon. Friends on this side, but the most diplomatic speech of Krishnan Nayar, punctuated by his usual 'buts' and the most unpatriotic and unworthy of an Indian speech of Mr. Dorai Raja, has prompted me to say only a few words on this occasion. Mr. President, this Government, this British Government, boasts itself of reigning over a dominion on which the sun never sets and this is the Government that has won the biggest war in the world and yet it is this Government that makes so much of a small incident in the Madras on the 3rd February. That shows the weakness of the Government and its want of confidence in itself and the unfair administration they are conducting in this province. It is an administration that is being conducted by mere brute force, not by love or affection to its subjects. As my hon. Friend, the Leader, has rightly pointed out, it cannot be an administration of love because we are not Europeans. They can only have some regard for some small association at the Esotto and not for the popular opinion of the whole province. The whole province has stated in unequivocal terms that they do not want the Simon Commission and that they wanted to conduct a peaceful hartal. The Government had no business to interfere if they were fair and just-minded in such things but to allow its subjects to have their own way. Instead of that they have perpetrated a gross negligence of their duty. I can boldly say they have even abetted and connived at these disturbances, for I have ample evidence to give to this House that the disturbances at the Iron Bridge was at the very nose and under the very eyes of the police that were standing at a stone's throw distance of the rowdies and those that were molested. Mr. President, it was not the khaddar-clad people or the Brahmans alone that were the victims of this kind of molestation, but it was also the innocent Government servants, the loyal

[Mr. P. Bhaktsavatsalu Nayudu] [13th March 1928]

servants of this benign Government that are sweating their brows in the work of this administration in the Secretariat and in other places that were the victims of these atrocious and disgraceful affair on the 3rd February, and it is perhaps to assist such affairs once again that they want to import additional police. That itself shows how weak the administration is, and how weak especially the police administration is, which was till recently in the hands of the ex-Law Member, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, and which is now in the hands of the present Home Member. There was absolutely no necessity for alarm, there was no terror and there was no such danger to apprehend to close the gates of the High Court and conduct the business there, as if there was some German invasion or Afghan invasion impending. Mr. President, these things imply that the innumerable police establishment that the city boasts of of, one Commissioner, two Deputy Commissioners, two Assistant Commissioners, any number of Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors and a big lot of police constables and head constables, are only here to coerce and to prosecute innocent people unnecessarily. After all this thing has happened in an innocent place like Madras. The people of Madras are never known to be disorderly or even mischievous in the past and in this place if the Government thought fit to bring in additional police, it only shows their impotence to manage the affairs. They could have managed it without bringing in additional police if they had only had a mind to do so, but they had no mind to do so. Their only attention was concentrated in showing that the Simon Commission goes on well, but not in the interests of the people they are in charge of. Under these circumstances I very strongly support the cut motion proposed by my hon. Friend Mr. Kaleswara Rao."

* Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, I have been very carefully listening to the speeches made by my hon. Friends in the Opposition benches. The hon. Member from South Arcot said that the city had a military look about it and that it seemed to be under military rule. Sir, I wish there had been more of this military look about it for the excesses which my hon. friends admitted to have been committed even by students would not have been committed if precautionary measures had been taken and if the police had understood where the storm centre was likely to be. Again, Sir, some of my Friends said that they found armed police patrolling empty streets. May I in all humility submit that probably the reason why these streets were empty was that there was police parading? (Hear, hear.) Wherever police force was brought and asked to patrol the streets there was peace and all this *posse* of police force is not intended to terrorize peaceful citizens. It is intended to be a warning to the rowdy elements whose presence was admitted by all in this city to have been responsible for much mischief on the hartal day. Where we have to deal with the human element, Government cannot be too careful. It has to take all possible precaution. Its business certainly is to see that such troubles as were witnessed on the hartal day are not renewed. We are told that the police on the hartal day did not render adequate protection for peaceful citizens, but, at the same time, when we find the Government with the best of intentions reinforcing the city police by bringing in mufassal police force to maintain peace and order, that police is criticized. Such action, we are told, is not proper. Some of my friends admitted that the crowd was handled properly and that it was only after 3-30 where the police force was not stationed that stone-throwing took place, if I heard aright my hon. Friend, the Leader of the Opposition. With all due deference to my hon. Friends whose opinions are

13th March 1928] [Mr. S. Arpudaswami Udayar]

very valuable, I must say that the criticisms and suggestions of many who were present on that occasion were that the Commissioner of Police, and the Deputy Commissioner of Police and the Presidency Magistrate tried their best by using persuasive methods to disperse the crowd. (A voice : 'No, no.') Sir, whatever my friends may think about it, it is quite open to me to refer to it. I think they have really no ground for complaint against the Government taking precautionary measures in the light of their experience. It might have been that leaders of certain parties agreed through their volunteers to see that peace was restored. Still, the first duty of Government as Government is to be very careful to take all precautions to avoid trouble and to maintain peace and order. Therefore even granting that it is possible for us to make certain adverse comments in connexion with the hartal, we must make a distinction between the adequacy or inadequacy, the efficiency or inefficiency of police protection and the expenditure incurred by Government in the light of previous experience to maintain peace and order. For these reasons, I oppose the motion."

* The hon. Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—" Mr. President, Sir, my hon. Friend Mr. Kaleswara Rao began by saying that the action of Government in importing the mufassal police into Madras was absolutely unwarrantable. Sir, I should like to recall the events that took place on the 3rd February. Government thought that such a state of affairs should not be repeated. After the 3rd February, representations were made to Government by everybody—Europeans and Indians—that something ought to be done by Government to see that such a state of affairs did not recur. My hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition, who is always very dignified in making speeches in this House, attributed motives to my hon. Friend, Mr. Krishnan Nayar. I should like to tell hon. Members of this House that on the 4th February there was a meeting of a Select Committee at which my hon. Friends Messrs. Krishnan Nayar and Arpudaswami Udayar were present. The feeling that was uppermost in the minds of hon. Members who were present then was that the Government should take drastic measures to see that the events of the 3rd February were not repeated and that they would give their heartiest co-operation in any measures that Government might take.

"Then, Sir, it has been said that we have brought the police here to 3 p. frighten the people. I can assure hon. Members of this House that it was not at all our object. It was only to infuse a sense of security and protection in the minds of the people. We wanted to assure the people that we had made absolute police bandobast absolute, so that they can carry on their normal work without any kind of hindrance whatever."

Mr. P. BHAKTAVATSALU NAYUDU :—"What about the machine guns which were paraded?"

The hon. Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—"They were not paraded.

"Sir, some of my hon. Friends said that rowdy elements were incited to do mischief. But, I ask, who was responsible for this state of affairs. . ."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"Of course, the police."

[13th March 1928]

* The hon. Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—"Who went to the beach and made speeches on hartal, the hon. Members on the Treasury Bench or the hon. Members on the Opposition? (Cries of 'The Police,' 'Shame' and 'Withdraw that statement' from the Opposition Benches.)"

"Sir, another Member said that when we have the Military in Madras there was no necessity even for the mufassal police to be brought in. In any police arrangement we never take the Military into account. They are called in only when emergencies arise. It has been remarked that the Madras Police absolutely failed; I should say that, on the other hand, the Madras Police did well with the materials at their command. They had to meet a difficult situation and they met it in a satisfactory manner. (Cries of 'Oh, oh'.) We have to remember that on the 3rd February there was a possibility of the breach of the peace everywhere. . . ."

Several voices : "Where?"

* The hon. Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—"Everywhere." (Cries of "Shame.") (Mr. Satyamurti : "No, it is a falsehood.")

"Then, Sir, it was said that two members of the depressed classes were killed. I ask hon. Members of the House who were responsible for this? Certainly the organizers of hartal."

Several Swarajists : "The inefficiency of the police and the Government were responsible for that."

A voice : "What was the Labour Commissioner doing?"

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"Order, order."

* The hon. Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—"Then, Sir, it has been said that the police had been brought in in order to protect the Simon Commission. They required no protection whatever because they were welcomed by the people everywhere. (Cries of 'Oh, oh'.) (Mr. P. Bhaktavatsalu Nayudu : 'If you had been to the Chepauk Palace, you would have seen.')

Then, Sir, another thing said was that there were some urchins who disturbed the peace of Madras. Government knew that these urchins were powerful urchins—urchins who were able to disperse a beach meeting of ten thousand persons, who had behind them instigators. Government therefore thought it was their duty to prevent the urchins from doing such mischief. Sir, whatever we did, we did only to give Madras a sense of security. It was for this purpose—and for this purpose alone—that we brought in the mufassal police."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"Mr. President, Sir, the hon. the Home Member flushed with the transfer of the Police into his hands this morning, sought to justify his Patron's confidence in him by out-heroding Herod. I will prove every word of that phrase. My hon. Friend forgot himself and paid a compliment to the Leader of the Opposition that he was always dignified in his speeches and never lost his temper. I thought my hon. Friend also never lost his temper. But to-day he is determined to appear to his masters that he can be more ferocious than all the ferocious men in Madras put together. (Laughter.) Therefore, Sir, he has made a speech in which he has uttered two or three terminological inexactitudes which, if he had uttered them elsewhere, would have made him liable for damages in law. I challenge him to repeat these statements elsewhere, if he dares; I will take upon myself to charge him in a proper place."

13th March 1928]

[Mr. S. Satyamurti]

"His first point was this. He says that we, the Members of the Opposition, incited rowdies at the beach meetings to do these acts of rowdyism and to defy police authority. Now, I ask him and I ask this House to kindly read the report of the Police Commissioner and the Government Order itself in which the Government says categorically that there was nothing in our speeches or writings which incited the people directly or indirectly to violence but which on the other hand deprecated all violence; and, therefore, they could not have gone to any Magistrate in Madras with a request for a preventive order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. Who is right and who is wrong? Is the Government of Madras right or is the new Police Member, who forgets in his enthusiasm the respect he owes to facts, right? I will now read from the Government Order:

"It has been suggested" the Government say in their order, dated the 23rd February 1928, 'that the various speeches and activities reported in the press (that was the argument put forward by my hon. Friend) gave a sufficient indication of what the events of the day were likely to be and would have justified the use of the preventive section of the Code of Criminal Procedure. Although, no doubt, the disorders could not have occurred but for the decision of the Boycott Committee, that disapproval of the Statutory Commission should be shown by a hartal on the 3rd February.—I may pause here, Sir, to say that there would have been no hartal if the Statutory Commission had not been sent, and therefore to attribute these disturbances to the hartal is to say that nothing would have happened if man had not been created. But apart from that ultimate cause of all events, the Government proceed to say—but the Government are not disposed, in view of the tenor of the speeches and manifestos in which the use of force was deprecated, to consider there was evidence that would have enabled a successful application to be made to the courts for the issue of orders under the preventive sections.' I ask my hon. Friend to undergo a short apprenticeship under somebody who knows some law before he comes to deal with these large and difficult questions which get him beyond his depths.

"Then, Sir, the other point was that the Madras Police did very well in dealing with the disturbances in Madras on the 3rd. Before I give my own personal experiences, Sir, I would like . . ."

The hon. Khan Bahadur MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur:—"On a point of explanation, Sir. I said 'with the materials at their command'."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI:—"So be it. 'With the materials at their command,' which, I take it, means that nothing was done with their connivance or at their instigation which prompted the rowdy elements in violating law and order. Again, Sir, I will read the Government Order for his benefit, for he has had evidently no time to read those orders:

'A regrettable feature of the day was the delay in dealing with the recurrence of stone-throwing in the evening after the rioting near the High Court. The Commissioner has said that policemen were on duty wherever possible but not at two points near the Fort where actual stoning did take place. These two points are not usually scenes of activity and hence no doubt the absence of any police constables. That they were scenes of trouble on this occasion is due to the fact that the stoning was begun by men proceeding to or returning from the beach meeting. The Government consider it unfortunate that although Military pickets were placed at points of vantage in Chepauk and its neighbourhood and the procession from the Mahajana Sabha was under police control, no steps were taken to ensure that other large bodies of persons proceeding to or from the meeting should be kept under the observation of a force of police sufficient to put down at once any tendency to lawlessness.'

[Mr. S. Satyamurti]

[13th March 1928]

"Does the Government regret it knowing that the police could not have done it, or does the Government regret it because knowing the police could have done it they omitted to do it? My hon. Friend below the gangway himself admitted that on the 3rd February innocent Brahmans,—I was glad to hear that phrase come from him—were attacked by rowdies in Madras (A voice: 'Also by the police') and the police did not put it down. Is that charge true?"

"Then, Sir, my hon. Friend wound up his somewhat hysterical speech by saying that he knew that the urchins were powerful enough to disturb a large meeting of 10,000 people and therefore he dealt with them. I will tell you a few facts which are well within my personal knowledge. Before that meeting on the 29th February was actually held, I was sent for by the Commissioner of Police and we had a cordial talk, in the course of which he suggested that there should be a hundred yards' distance between the two rival meetings, that there would be a special inspector with a *posse* of armed police to interfere if need arose or when they were appealed to to interfere. The police was there and one police inspector was actually at the scene. I will give his name to the Member directly if he wants, but I do not want to mention it now because he may be an innocent man and I do not want to compromise him in a public manner here. But I want to tell you that a policeman was actually on the scene and that a party of armed police with an inspector of police was there in the Presidency College, just opposite to the place of the meeting. With these people there, the meeting was disturbed by a few urchins who had brought special missiles of an offensive character for the purpose of disturbing this meeting and the police, when appealed to before and after the meeting, would not interfere. Is that conduct or misconduct on the part of the police?"

"I will give another instance again within my own personal knowledge. From the Mahajana Sabha Hall in Mount Road near the Round Tana, right up to the Chepauk Palace and the Revenue Board office, where the road opens into the beach, a procession of about 70 or 100 people was stoned by urchins and older men too on both sides, the police actually escorting them, and the police would not interfere to prevent this stone-throwing. Is it conduct or misconduct on the part of the police? (Cries of shame, shame.)

"I have given you two instances within my own personal knowledge. I was told that I did not complain to the police as if everybody who was actually hit on that day complained to the police, as if the police did not know it otherwise, as if it is an excuse for the police that, because there is no regular complaint, they are not bound to preserve law and order. I am telling my hon. Friend what I know from my own personal knowledge, for at least on two occasions the police aided and abetted the rowdies or the rowdies had at least the consciousness that the police were behind them and that they would not be dealt with if they attacked anti-Simonites. Evidently because, we have heard in the course of this morning a most significant statement from a quarter, whose authority could not be disputed and I have heard it from exalted quarters also, that the Governor of Madras remarked that whoever opposed the Simon Commission is an enemy of the Government and therefore the police may deal with them in any manner they should like and that they were outside the protection of the law. That evidently was the way in which the police understood the situation, and therefore I say that this praise of the police is not at all deserved. On the other hand, Mr. President, in spite of the police general order under section 144, which was tom-tomed all over

13th March 1928]

[Mr. S. Satyamurti]

Madras and in which people were told that if they closed their shops, they would come into trouble, although they were merely to be told that if they had kept their shops open, they would receive adequate protection there was a peaceful hartal in Madras on the 26th February, the day of the arrival of the Commission, and though we had called off the hartal. Did any untoward incident happen on that day? Was it due to the parading of the police? Were the police called upon to interfere anywhere? I will tell you, Sir, the reason why there was no disturbance on the 26th February. It was because the rowdies who had been previously encouraged and in some cases engaged to create rowdyism, were told on the 26th not to do it again. They kept quiet and therefore there was no rowdyism at all. If therefore there had been no mismanagement or worse on the part of the police, there would have been no rowdyism at all on the 3rd February, and the happenings on the 26th February are proof positive of this.

“Sir, my hon. Friend raised two issues. The first, the conduct of the special police in preventing the rowdies from molesting or injuring peaceful citizens from attending to their usual avocations. We have proved that charge. My hon. Friend from Malabar has substantiated that charge. We have made that charge not only here but also in the columns of the Press and also before the Committee appointed by the Congress Committee to investigate into these disturbances. We ask the Government to institute their own enquiry. We will come and give evidence there. If they have the courage, if they believe in the process in which I believe, I ask the Government to wash this dirty linen and ask the people then to abide by the verdict of an impartial and honest committee in which I can have confidence and in which all sections of this House will have equal confidence. Until you do that, the citizens of Madras will believe, and believe rightly and justly according to me, that the police were interested in crushing this big hartal. They were taken by surprise at the success of the hartal. It did not please the police; more than that, it did not please the *de facto* rulers of this country, the Europeans of Madras. They are the real *de facto* rulers, not those gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. They are not the real rulers of Madras. For whose benefit is the Government of Madras being carried on? They, the Europeans, are the people for whose benefit the Government of Madras is being carried on. They are the masters. We send long memorials but nobody bothers about them. They go into the waste paper basket, but if those people make fiery speeches, and send long letters, at once the whole Government quake in their shoes and send replies to them column after column with bated breath and in whispering humbleness. That is the Government of Madras, and they are the *de facto* rulers of this country and if their pride is wounded. . . . (A voice: Do you want to convert them?) Yes, I want to convert them if possible, because they are the *de facto* rulers of this country. I know that and I feel it. They are so both here and in England; for commerce is the real centre of life of the British Empire; it is they who dictate wars, dictate peace and dictate Simon Commissions. I therefore suggest, Mr. President, that these gentlemen do make up their minds that there shall be no more hartals, and then we shall teach these people that we are the real rulers of the country and not they. So far as the Madras Government are concerned, there is nothing either in the Government Order or in the report of the Commissioner of Police—except one paragraph in a letter which I shall read presently—no allegation is made either by the Chief Presidency Magistrate or by the Commissioner of Police, directly or indirectly, against the Congress volunteers and workers as having

[Mr. S. Satyamurti]

[13th March 1928]

taken part in these disturbances. The only paragraph in which reference is made by the Commissioner of Police to us :

'Messrs. Ganapathi and Sydney Smith proceeded homewards about 4-30 to 4-45 p.m. safely as far as "Cupid's Bow" where they were stoned by a khaddar-clad crowd who were evidently Congress or boycott partisans on their way to the Beach meeting convened by the Boycott Committee for 5 p.m. on the Triplicane Beach'.

"That is the only allegation made. In all these letters, no other allegation is made either by the Presidency Magistrate or by the Commissioner of Police against the Congressmen or Congress sympathisers as having taken any part in these disturbances. So far as this allegation is concerned, I know nothing about the truth or otherwise of it, but I invite the Government to investigate that matter, and I can promise to the Government that if they can prove that any Congressmen took part in these disturbances, it would be easy for us to disown them and to say that we would have nothing to do with them. As for the khaddar-clad crowd being necessarily Congressmen, I may say that even rowdies wear khadder sometimes in order to bring discredit on the Congress and Congressmen. That matter may be investigated by the Government of Madras. (A voice: The Criminal Investigation Department wear khaddar.) Yes. That is so far as the Government are concerned. I am, however, thankful to the hon. the Home Member, that even he, this evening was not able to go to the length to which some of my hon. Friends who spoke from the non-official benches went. This morning as I came into this hall and learnt that my friend, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri had resigned his Law Membership, I thought His Excellency the Governor would naturally have to think seriously about a successor; but after listening to the magnificent speeches made here, I think it will be rather difficult to choose from among these three gentlemen; because they are the advocates, without fear or favour, of the rule of the rod, of the firm principle, of the iron hand, they are solid in their opinion that the Government have not taken further action and have not gone further. According to Mr. Dorai Raja, all of us should be sent out of the country, out of India, even to the Andamans. According to Mr. Arpudawami Udayar, he is really sorry that Madras was not under more military rule. He would have been pleased if at every street corner there were soldiers, there were armoured cars, and if aeroplanes were flying over Madras, so that Mr. Arpudawami Udayar might come to this Council very calmly and all others may walk in constant fear of the British Government. That is his conception of peace and order. My friend, Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar, was not so wild as that; but even he could not resist the temptation of patting the Government on the back and asking them to go forward with these measures with full confidence.

"I want to conclude with an appeal to all sections of this House, in regard to this matter. My friend, Mr. Krishnan Nayar, has already said that he and his friends sitting with him would vote against this cut. I appeal to him and his friends to revise their opinion in regard to this matter. So far as hartals are concerned, hartals need not necessarily lead to these consequences, and we have already seen in the newspapers that some distinguished members of the party to which my friend belongs do not seem to be unfavourable to these hartals in the case of any particular event. As my hon. Friend, the Leader of the Opposition, pointed out, so far as the Government are concerned, last year we cut down the grant for police by five lakhs but yet the Government have now come forward with a motion for the grant of nearly Rs. 4 lakhs. I do not think we ought to allow such motions to come up like this. I appeal to the Independent Party and to the ex-Ministers in particular,

13th March 1928]

[Mr. S. Satyamurti]

because we had this morning a disquisition upon Reforms being a Reserved subject and therefore their having nothing to do with it. This is a Reserved subject, and therefore I say they should not have anything to do with it. I ask my friends of the Independent Party to remember that they are now free from the allegiance which they would otherwise owe to the Government as a Ministerial Party in voting with them on this matter; because the question raised in this motion is merely a question of freedom of speech and freedom of association. If really we are going to allow Military rule to take the place of Civil rule, police zoolum to take the place of law and order, then this is a game at which two can play. To-day we are boycotting the Simon Commission and we do not want to include the Government in that; but to-morrow it will be something else. Are we going to encourage this topsy-turvydom and not allow, in the name of democracy, free play of opinions and actions so long as they do not interfere with the equally free play of opinions and actions of the other citizens of India? That is the only principle involved in this matter, and I appeal to all sections of the House to vote for this cut unanimously."

* Sir JAMES SIMPSON :—" Mr. President, like my hon. Friend, Mr. Krishnan Nayar, I do not wish to give a silent vote on this motion. I do not want to add fuel to the fire that is smouldering. It is always but a joy to me to follow my hon. Friend, Mr. Satyamurti in debate. I have listened, Sir, and followed the debate with the closest possible attention and I have not found anything coming from the opposite benches warranting me to support this cut. On the contrary, I consider that they have been themselves the best advocates of the Government proposals in preserving law and order. I have found this, Sir. Half of them are complaining against the police for having taken action, and the other half of them are complaining against the police for not taking action. They cannot have it both ways. Now, Sir, the *de facto* and *de jure* Leaders of the Opposition have minimised what took place in this city on to 3rd February. What are the facts on that day? The city was given over mob-law. Law and order broke down. Therefore, it was the clear and bounden duty of the Government to see that no repetition of this took place. When the Government learnt that there was to be an intensive hartal on the 17th, having regard to their previous experience, it was their duty to take all possible precautions against a repetition of the breaking down of law and order in this great city that took place on the 3rd February. (Mr. Basheer Ahmad Sayeed: 'Were they also prepared for Mr. Natesa Mudaliyar's hartal?') I do not want to add fuel to the fire. The Leader of the Opposition has made one very wise remark that the Europeans in India do not depend for their living here on Government protection. That is true. They depend on the affection of the people of India. As regards our being the *de facto* rulers of the country, Mr. Satyamurti is certainly right in a way; because the people in business and commerce and agriculture must always be the rulers of every country. And the maintenance of law and order in this province will always have the support of the members of this bench; it would be well if the members on the opposite benches gave the same encouragement to law and order in this country. Let me appeal to the House against the habit of vilifying and calumniating the police.

" Just now, Sir, one Member charged the police with looting, and another with assaulting the citizens. It may be true and may be not. Doubtless, these are facts within their knowledge. But let me say this: The interests represented here on this bench never allow themselves to undertake a campaign

[Sir James Simpson]

[13th March 1928]

against the police. In the country where we have been brought up, we look upon the police as our friends, not our enemies (Mr. S. Satyamurti: 'They are rowdies here'). The same thing ought to obtain here in this country. I strongly oppose the amendment to reduce this grant."

3-30
p.m.

The hon. Mr. T. E. MOIR:—"It was my intention to speak on this subject at some length, but in view, of the speech which has fallen from the lips of the hon. Member, Sir James Simpson, I do not propose now to prolong the discussion. There is much that has been said which made me indignant, but I do not propose to voice that indignation for I feel that this is a matter which most members of this House, and in their hearts even some of those sitting on the benches opposite, would be glad if it were disposed of in the manner in which the speech of the hon. Member who preceded me was framed. I therefore propose to add no further fuel to the fire, to answer no question and to add no further words which would prolong controversy. I have faith in this House and I feel confident that I only echo the appeal of Sir James Simpson and invite this House to reject the proposed amendment and thus to show that this House will not be a party to unsubstantiated and gross charges directed against the members of a department which, whether it may have made mistakes or misconceived the situation at times, did render great services to this city and its people under the difficult circumstances which it had to face during the last two months."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The question is to reduce the allotment of Rs. 3,05,880 for 'Police—Reserved' in excess of Budget provision by Rs. 100."

The amendment was put to vote and declared lost.

Mr. S. Satyamurti and other Swarajists:—"Poll."

A poll was accordingly taken with the following result:—

Ayes.

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| 1. Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti. | 15. Mr. M. Narayana Rao. |
| 2. " S. Satyamurti. | 16. " A. Parasurama Rao. |
| 3. " C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar. | 17. " C. Ramasomayajulu. |
| 4. " T. Adinarayana Chettiyar. | 18. " Basheer Ahmad Sayeed Sahib Bahadur. |
| 5. " P. Anjaneyulu. | 19. Mr. P. Bhaktavatsalu Nayudu. |
| 6. " J. A. Saldanha. | 20. Sriman Biswanath Das Mahasayo. |
| 7. " C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliyar. | 21. Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao. |
| 8. " G. Hariarvottama Rao. | 22. " R. Srinivasa Ayyangar. |
| 9. " C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar. | 23. " L. K. Tulasiram. |
| 10. " Abdül Hamid Khan. | 24. " K. R. Karant. |
| 11. " K. V. R. Swami. | 25. " K. Madhavan Nayar. |
| 12. " D. Narayana Raju. | 26. " C. Venkatarangam Nayudu. |
| 13. " B. S. Mallayya. | 27. " K. S. Sivasubrahmanya Ayyar. |
| 14. " C. Marudavanam Pillai. | |

Noes.

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| 1. The hon. Sir Norman Marjoribanks. | 13. Mr. C. B. Cotterell. |
| 2. " Khan Bahadur Muhammad Usman Sahib Bahadur. | 14. " P. J. Gnanavaram Pillai. |
| 3. " Mr. T. E. Moir. | 15. " R. Foulkes. |
| 4. " Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell. | 16. The Zamindar of Seithur. |
| 5. " Dr. P. Subbarayan. | 17. Mr. H. B. Ari Gowdar. |
| 6. Rao Bahadur C. V. Anantakrishna Ayyar. | 18. " J. Bheemayya. |
| 7. Mr. F. B. Evans. | 19. " J. A. Davis. |
| 8. " H. A. Watson. | 20. Subadar-Major S. A. Nanjappah Bahadur. |
| 9. " G. T. Boag. | 21. Mr. N. Siva Raj. |
| 10. " A. McG. C. Tampoe. | 22. " M. V. Gangadhara Siva. |
| 11. " S. H. Slater. | 23. Rao Sahib L. C. Guruswami. |
| | 24. Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillai. |
| | 25. " W. P. A. Soundarapandia Nadar. |

13th March 1928]

Noes—cont.

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| 25. Mr. S. Subrahmanya Moopanar. | 44. Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddi. |
| 26. „ D. Thomas. | 45. Rao Bahadur C. S. Ratnasabhapathi Mudaliyar. |
| 27. „ S. Venkayya. | 46. The Raja of Panagal. |
| 28. „ K. Krishnan. | 47. Sir A. P. Patro. |
| 29. Sir James Simpson. | 48. Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar. |
| 30. Mr. K. Kay. | 49. Mr. P. T. Rajan. |
| 31. „ W. O. Wright. | 50. „ T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar. |
| 32. Mr. A. T. Luker. | 51. Khan Bahadur S. K. Abdul Razack Sahib Bahadur. |
| 33. Rajkumar S. N. Dorai Raja. | 52. Khadir Mohidin Sahib Bahadur, Muhammad. |
| 34. Mr. Arupudaswami Udayar. | 53. Diwan Bahadur S. Kumaraswami Reddiyar. |
| 35. „ K. Ramachandra Padayachi. | 54. T. M. Moidoo Sahib Bahadur. |
| 36. Rao Sahib R. Srinivasan. | 55. Rao Bahadur B. Muniswami Nayudu. |
| 37. Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar. | 56. Diwan Bahadur A. M. M. Murugappa Chettiyar. |
| 38. Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar. | 57. Rao Bahadur K. Sitarama Reddi. |
| 39. Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliyar. | 58. The Zamindar of Mirzapuram. |
| 40. „ P. Siva Rao. | |
| 41. „ C. Gopala Menon. | |
| 42. Kumara Raja of Venkatagiri. | |
| 43. Mr. M. A. Manikkavelu Nayakar. | |

Ayes 27. Noes 58.

The amendment was lost.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ I shall now put the original motion to vote. The question is ‘ the Government be granted an additional appropriation of Rs. 3,05,880 under Grant XV. Police—Reserved.’ ”

The motion was put and adopted and the grant made.

The hon. Dr. P. SUBBARAYAN :—“ I do not propose to move the next item ^a on the agenda, Sir.”

GRANT XXXIV.

* The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS :—“ On the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I move

‘ that the Government be granted an additional sum of Rs. 8,000 under “ Grant XXXIV Agency Tracts—Reserved.” ’

“ Sir, in the coming year there are certain works in the road programme of the Agency. As there was a saving in the works put down for this year, one of next year’s works has been taken up. This is the working season and labour once dispersed is difficult to gather again. Therefore I ask the sanction of the Council for the course adopted.”

The motion was put and adopted and the grant made.

VII

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE FOR 1928-29.

The hon. Mr. T. E. MOIR :—“ I move

‘ that with a view to the constitution of a Committee on Public Accounts for the year 1928-29 this Council do proceed on a date to be fixed by the hon. the President to elect seven members of the said Committee ’.

* “ I move this resolution with reference to rule 33 (1) of the Madras Legislative Council Rules which lays down, ‘ As soon as may be after the commencement of each financial year a Committee on Public Accounts shall

Grant XXIII.

^a The hon. the MINISTER FOR DEVELOPMENT will move

“ That the Government be granted an additional sum of Rs. 49,200 under Grant XXIII. ‘ Civil Veterinary Services—Transferred ’ for the purchase of sera and vaccines required for the inoculation of cattle against rinderpest during the year 1927-28. ”